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“OGA, I’m Not Lying”: Discursive Strategies in Selected Police-Suspect Interrogations in Ibadan, Nigeria

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Abstract

Interrogation is a vital tool through which police officers obtain substantial evidence from suspect(s). Previous studies examined the verbal means of language without paying attention to emotions, gestures and voice pitch; and only the language use on the part of the Investigating Police Officers (IPOs) was considered without examining the suspects. Thus, this study identified and discussed the discursive strategies performed by both the IPOs and the suspects during interrogations. Using Jacob Mey’s Pragmatic Act Theory as framework, and three purposively selected cases out of the cases in the data collected from the Oyo State Criminal Investigation Department, Iyaganku, Ibadan, data were subjected to pragmatic analysis. Six discursive strategies are identified: smile/grin, frown, shout, question style, repetition and code-switching. The various strategies were cushioned to achieve diverse goals in the interrogation sessions. Smile/grin helped in the establishment of rapport, signaling pretence/sarcasm; frown indicated lie detection and discontent; shout showed anger and discontent; questions for information elicitation (wh-question), precision (polar questions), confirmation (declarative questions); repetition was used for reinforcement, while code-switching was used to signal solidarity and ethnic identity. The police-suspect interrogation is a distinct type of discourse as almost all the interactions tilt towards unraveling secrets to a particular crime. The discursive strategies are characteristic of a police-suspect interrogation and they are used to harness the discourse at hand.

Keywords: Discursive practices, criminal investigation, police-suspect interrogation, pragmatic acts, forensic discourse,

1. Introduction

Humans carry out different activities, including any criminal act and/or investigation via the use of language. There is a dire need to study the use of language in various contexts, including media, medical, academic, spiritual, and legal processes such as court cases, police investigations and the management of prisons which all take place through language. In the West, that is in Britain, United States, Canada, Australia, and so on, linguists are being called upon to offer expert opinions and advice on knotty language problems in legal settings; these are native speakers’ countries. Farinde(2016) posits that Nigeria, using English as her official language, needs services like this in the Nigerian courts from linguistic experts; not only in courtrooms, but also in police interviews/interrogations, and indeed all law-related settings. This explains the major crux for this research.

Investigation is an official examination of the facts about a situation, crime, etc. Dambazzau (2012:49-50) considers crime as a social product, determined by social conditions and capable of being controlled only in social terms. He further asserts that crime is normal in all societies and that “a society exempted from crime would necessitate a standardization of moral concepts of all individuals which is neither possible nor desirable”. One of the onerous tasks of the police is the task of investigating criminal intent Akinrinola (2017). In the Nigerian context, a department known as Criminal Investigation Department of the Nigeria Police Force is saddled with the task of probing criminal activities. Such investigations are carried out in accordance with the provisions of the Nigerian Constitution. On the whole, power has been vested on the police to investigate crimes, and in the process they arrests and detains persons suspected to have committed an offence. This has been provided for in Section 4 of the Police Act. The whole investigative process is done via the sole means of language. Considering the importance of interrogation to police-suspect discourse, this study aims to identify the discursive strategies and the pragmatic roles employed by both the interrogator and the suspect(s).

2. The Nigeria Police Force and Investigation

The Nigeria Police Force (henceforth NPF) is the principal law enforcement agency in Nigeria with staff strength of about 371,800. The NPF is a very large organization consisting of 36 State commands grouped into 12 zones and 7 administrative organs. The agency is headed by an Inspector General of Police (IGP). The NPF, first established in 1820, performed conventional police functions and was responsible for internal security generally; for supporting the prison, immigration, and customs services; and for performing military duties within or outside Nigeria as directed. Dambazzau (2012) explains that police responsibility is limited to establishing presence, arrest, investigation and prosecution of

suspects. The NPF maintains a three-tier administrative structure of departments, zonal and state commands. There are seven departments which include finance/Administration, operations, logistics and supply, force criminal investigation department (FORCID), training, planning, research and development, and information and communication technology. The Criminal Investigation Department (CID) is the highest criminal investigation arm of the NPF.

The roles of the two participants in police interview/interrogation have been explained by Rock (2010). The interviewers, who are the police officers, will undertake a range of activities including listening, devising questions, delivering questions, reacting to answers, writing notes on points for clarification, writing a statement, holding in mind prior utterances, imagining a crime context, reading texts produced by them and others before and during the interview. They will also engage in a range of identity-related activities, such as showing empathy and encouraging disclosure, and in procedural activities, such as ensuring that the interview complies with legal requirements in terms of its duration. Interviewees too will potentially listen and respond to questions, deliver narratives, write or draw (for example mapping a crime location) and undertake a range of strategies for activating short- and long-term memories sometimes with the interviewer's help. He concluded by stating that Police interviews are influenced by the texts which constitute and define them and which constitute and define the linguistic and paralinguistic activities which they comprise. Meanwhile, as pointed out by Agaba (2011), in a pre-trial investigation, the police are expected to establish whether or not an offence has been committed, who committed the offence and the circumstances under which an offence was committed. Similarly, Haworth (2010) explains that for the police themselves, the formal interview is a key part of any investigation into a criminal offence. Haworth further explains that the process begins when the police conduct an interview with someone suspected of committing a criminal offence explaining that the interview forms an important part of the initial police investigation. Ajayi (2014) also confirms this by asserting that interviews and interrogations are important tools for securing convictions against the guilty and freeing the wrongly accused. He explained that the process of interview is non-accusatory. The primary goal of an interview is to gather information that is relevant to the investigation at hand. This information can include "who, what, when, where, why, and how" of any criminal investigation and can also involve assessing the credibility of the source of the information supplied by the respondent.

Four stages are involved in conducting a proper interview, either as a police officer or as a lawyer in criminal investigation (Agaba, 2011). These stages are rapport building stage, information exchange stage, challenge stage and concluding stage. At the rapport building stage, matters entirely unrelated to the offence or subject matter of investigation may be discussed. The interviewee may introduce himself, ask the suspect about himself, and introduce some sense of humour. He posits that the whole idea of this stage is not necessarily to make friends with the witness but so that there will be free flow of interaction and information. The information exchange stage is where the interviewer gets down to more details, asks more direct questions and seeks clarifications on answers given; this is done without necessarily challenging the suspect. At the challenge stage, the approach of the interviewer may change from warm and friendly to cold and official. This is as a result of the benefit of the robust interaction from the rapport building and information exchange stage where the interviewer would have had a clearer idea of the psychology of the witness/suspect and his level of consistency. At the concluding stage, all necessary questions would have been asked, so the interviewer may ask the suspect to tell him any other thing about the case that he thinks the interviewer may want to know. These procedures and processes are significant and equally related to the current study which intends to examine the interrogation of police-suspect discourse, in order to identify discursive and pragmatic strategies and roles respectively employed by both the interrogator and the suspect(s).

3. Statement of the Problem

Forensic linguistics has recently attracted the attention of language researchers both within and outside Nigeria. One of the concerns of their research is investigating the language of police interrogation (Gordon, 2012; Heffer, 2010). Police officers' use of language during interrogation is worthy of being investigated as different motivations, ideologies of Investigating Police Officers (henceforth, IPOs) are unraveled through a close study of the language of enquiry (Farinde, 2008; Makandi, 2008; Haworth, 2012; Ahiale, 2013; Ayodele, 2013). Previous researches such as Farinde (1997, 2011) Inbau, et al (2001), Adesiyani (2005), Oyebade (2007), Gibbons (2008), Adebawale (2010), Ajayi (2014), Farinde, Olajuyigbe and Adegbite (2015), Osisanwo and Akintaro (2020) among others have in different ways contributed to literatures on police-suspect and courtroom interaction from various perspectives. Their works have been on the discursive event, conceptual issues of interrogations, interview and questioning; deception and power relations, the discourse control strategies, power and threat in police-suspect interaction, and so forth. Sadiq (2012), who examines the language of police interrogation in the Kano metropolis, studies the structure, organization and communicative strategies in police interrogation, and discovers that the patterns of discourse in police criminal investigations are the question/answer sequences, which are indeed common to most institutional discourses. His study also reveals that questioning forms are used to control the flow of discourse. He thus opines that police/accused discourse is highly organized with predictable structures. Similarly, Ajayi (2015) delves into the application of Dell Hymes' Ethnography of Communication to police-Suspect Discourse. The study observes that police-suspect discourse is such that depicts asymmetrical distribution of power between police officers and suspects. He observes that IPOs make use of question, accusation, abuse, raised intonation and interruption to overwhelm suspects. Farinde, Olajuyigbe and Adegbite's (2015) work on the discourse control strategies in police-suspect interrogation in Nigeria in the use of English with a view to identifying the themes in the interrogation discourse and discussing the pragmatic functions of the dominant discourse control strategies employed by the police interrogators. They adopted the Speech Act theory and Thomas' Metapragmatic Acts for analysis and discover that the IPOs employed illocutionary force indicating devices for intimidation and coercion

of suspects while they used discursual indicators, meta-discursual comments, and upshots and reformulations as discourse control strategies. They concluded by asserting that police-suspect interrogation is largely slanted in favour of the police interrogators and that police interrogation is a peculiar discourse genre where there is interplay of power asymmetry and dominance. Akinrinlola (2017) works on deception in Police-Suspect Interaction in Ibadan, Nigeria, describing how deception expresses power relations using Sperber and Wilson's relevance theory to engage how inferential communication achieves effects in the interaction. He explains deception as a strategy used by investigating police officers (IPOs) in eliciting confessional statements from suspects and describes how power relations are negotiated in such interaction.

The existing literatures have in various ways considered the dimensions of forensic discourse. Significant as these contributions are to knowledge and scholarship, there are still areas that are underrepresented. Hence, this study is interested in one of such aspects, that is the investigation of the discursive strategies employed by both the police officers and suspects to achieve their goals in police criminal investigation in Oyo state.

4. Theoretical Consideration

This research employs Jacob Mey's (2001) Pragmatic Acts Theory to examine the pragmatic acts performed by both the IPOs and suspects in police/suspect interrogations. The pragmatic act theory is a socio-cultural interactional view of pragmatics which emphasizes 'the priority of socio-cultural and societal factors in meaning construction and comprehension' (Kecskes 2010:2889). The theory of pragmatic act was developed by Jacob Mey in the year 2001. He says that we look at people using language as performing pragmatic acts (Mey 2001:206). In his words, "pragmatics tells us it's all right to use language in unconventional ways, as long as we know, as language users, what we are doing" (pp 207). Mey considers speech acts as ineffective since they are not situated and postulates that only situated speech acts or instantiated pragmatic acts exist (Odeunmi and Unuabonah 2014). Mey (2001) asserts that pragmatic acts do not necessarily include specific speech acts, as speech acts theory lacks a theory of action as Fairclough (1989) explains that the action is thought of atomistically as wholly emanating from the individual. Mey introduces the terms 'pragmeme', 'pract' and 'allopract'. Pragmeme depends on the situational context of an utterance for its production and interpretation. Mey provides a model of pragmatic acts (p.222) thus:

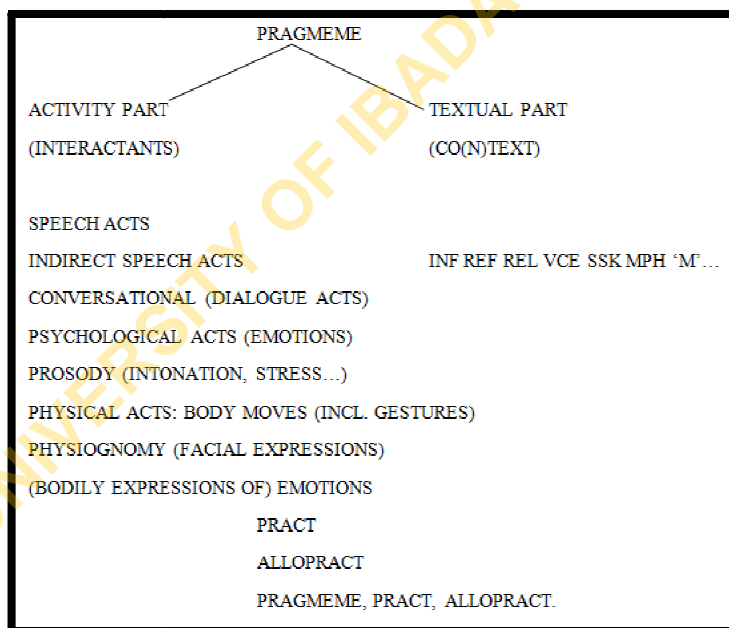


Figure 1

This model implies that there are two parts to pragmeme which are the activity and textual parts. The activity part embodies the list of choices available to language users in interaction. It considers the interactants and the acts performed; such acts as the speech act, indirect speech act, conversational (or dialogue) act, psychological act, prosody, physical act; which involves body moves, physiognomy and bodily expressions of emotion. The textual part consists the elements present in the textual chain where INF stands for inference, REF is reference, REL stands for relevance, VCE is voice, SSK is shared situational knowledge, MPH represents metaphor and M stands for met pragmatic. The ellipsis at the end of the textual part list shows that the list is open. This made Odeunmi (2006) to add SCK which stands for Shared Cultural Knowledge which considers all socio-cultural affordances in pragmeme.

Pract is not determined by the grammatical correctness or the strict adherence of rule, but it is known or determined by the understanding that the individual participants of the situation and the effects that the practs have or may have in a given context (Mey 2001). The Pragmatic Act theory is pertinent to this study as it presents a model made up of two parts – the activity and the textual parts, which makes it easy to identify the pragmatic acts inherent in the interrogations and pinpoint the discursive strategies due to the affordance of the activity part.

5. Methodology

The sample for this study comprised of selected police-suspect interrogations. Three cases were purposively selected. The selected samples involved cases of burglary, kidnap and rape. The data for this study were collected via writing of the police/suspect interrogation at the State Criminal Investigation Department, Iyaganku, Ibadan and crosschecking with the confessional statement for authenticity. The activity part of Pragmatic Act Theory with some elements of the textual part guided the analysis. The names of the suspects were withheld for confidentiality since they are yet to be convicted. The interrogations were subjected to pragmatic analysis, which was done using the pragmatic act theory. In order to carry out an explicit and insightful analysis, the three interrogation sessions were labeled A, B, and C, and an ample of statements were purposively selected from each for analysis.

6. Analysis and Findings

Six discursive strategies were identified: smile/grin, frown, shout, question style, repetition and code-switching. Relevant inferences are drawn by both parties on the basis of the pragmatic designs of their utterances and actions. They are described in the light of the pragmatic resources/tools as explicated in the interactions.

6.1. Smile/Grin as a Discursive Strategy

Smile is an expression one has on one's face when happy or amused, while a grin is a wide smile. The activity part of the Pragmatic Acts Theory provides the list of choices available for interactants in terms of the acts performed. The psychological and physiognomy acts of smile are used to suggest humour, friendliness, relaxation, contentment, and so forth. Smile is used in police-suspect interrogation for varying purposes like: rapport establishment, sarcasm/pretence. These purposes of smile are evident in the interrogative sessions; they are explained in turns below:

6.2. Smile as a Strategy for Rapport Establishment

A smile serves as a strategy used by the IPO to establish rapport between himself and the suspect with the expectation that the suspect will cooperate and supply needed information since he has eased his tension via the smile/grin. This agrees with Agada's (2011:55) position that the rapport building stage in criminal investigation is important, not necessarily to make friends but so that there will be free flow of interaction and information as exhibited in Excerpt 1.

6.2.1. Excerpt 1

*IPO: My name is Inspector XXX handling your case. I hope you will cooperate by giving useful information
@@@
Suspect: okay sir.*

In Excerpt 1, the symbol @@@ stands for smile; the act of rapport establishment was performed as the IPO smiled in order to ease the suspect's tension and to appear friendly to the suspect. This is pertinent to make the suspect feel relaxed in order to divulge all needed information which will help the investigative process. The IPO used the psychological act to project into the suspect's mind the need to be at ease to give information. He used REF to refer to the case at hand and used REL to state the importance of the information the suspect will give him. The suspect used the SSK appropriately, so he did not take the smile to be a genuine one.

6.2.1.1. Smile as Pretence and Sarcasm

Pretence occurs in a situation where someone fakes a particular action; it is hypocritical and false. A smile extended by the IPO to the suspect sometimes implies pretence, as though the IPO is not aware of a particular fact. For instance, the Excerpt 2 which is on the discourse issue of rape explicated the use of smile for pretence purpose:

6.2.2. Excerpt 2

*IPO: you told her to enter your room to collect the money, abi?
Suspect: yes
IPO: and you gave her only the money @@@
Suspect: [mute]*

In Excerpt 2, the IPO used smile (@@@) to perform the act of pretence as though he wasn't aware that the suspect gave more than the money to the young girl. The IPO used REF to refer to the rape victim in relation to the case at hand; the VCE used by the IPO shows more than the words in the IPO's second turn. The suspect used INF to decode this and decided to keep mute rather than utter any word as seen in the next turn, Excerpt 3, which is without any VCE.

On the other hand, sarcasm is a way of using words in a way that opposes what is meant in order to make fun of someone. Sometimes the IPO also resorts to smiling to indicate sarcasm as evident in Excerpt 3.

6.2.3. Excerpt 3

*IPO: Na so you just rape am? Abi? (that was just how you raped her, right?)
Suspect: uuhhhm
IPO: kare! Ekun. (well done, tiger) @@@*

In Excerpt 3, on the discourse issue of rape, the IPO gave a sarcastic smile at the unpleasant act performed by the suspect, which is raping a young lady of age sixteen. The IPO used the SSK of the case at hand and changed the VCE using Nigerian

Pidgin. He deployed the REL of the CO(N)TEXT to show that the suspect was aware that he knows he is guilty, so he smiled sarcastically and called him a tiger. The IPO inferred(INF) from the suspect's answer 'uuhhm' that the suspect is really guilty; this made him smile. SCK was used when the IPO called the suspect 'ekun', a tiger to sarcastically hail him, with the cultural knowledge they share about who a tiger can be.

6.3. Frown as a Discursive Strategy

A frown implies a serious, angry or worried expression on a person's face often used to show displeasure. Frown is a facial expression (physiognomy) which is an activity type in the Pragmatic Act Theory. It is used by the IPO or the suspect in different discourse issues and contexts. The frown can be used to denote a lot of things by either party; it can be an implication for lie detection or discontent. Most times, the frown is identified and interpreted by either which necessitates another turn to that effect.

6.3.1. Frown as an Indication of Lie

At times, the IPO frowns at the suspect when he knows and as well wants the suspect to know that he is aware he is telling a lie. An instance exists Excerpt 4 which is also on the discourse issue of rape:

6.3.1.1. Excerpt 4

Suspect: I gave her the money and tell her 'bye-bye'

IPO: you mean you gave her only the money? @@@

Suspect: yes

IPO: are you telling me it is only money that you give her? ((frowns))

Suspect: oga, I'm not lying.

In Excerpt 4, the IPO frowned at the suspect having asked him the same question twice and the suspect kept lying, he frowned to make him aware that he had detected a lie. Frown is a facial expression (physiognomy) which is an activity type in the Pragmatic Act Theory. This paralinguistic feature was employed to indirectly perform the act of accusing the suspect. The suspect identified this via INF and interpreted appropriately using REF and REL which prompted him to take the next turn of telling the IPO that he is not lying. The frown is suggestive of lie detection; the suspect understood it and acted on it to further prove his innocence.

6.3.2. Frown as an Indication of Discontent

A frown sometimes is used by the IPO to show discontent on the part of the IPO as well as the suspect when the suspect dislikes the accusation posed to him/her as regards a particular offence, as exemplified in Excerpt 5.

6.3.2.1. Excerpt 5

IPO: I'm putting it to you straight that you know that the security man will recognize you, that is why you masked to cover your identity.

suspect: (frowns) that is not true, because I'm in Akure with my mum in the hospital. How did he recognize someone with mask? I told you the guy is crazy.

IPO: (frowns) I told you to choose your words carefully.

Excerpt 5 is situated in the discourse issue of burglary and theft where some armed men and a masked man burgled a company and took away important documents from the CEO's office. Frown on the side of both parties indicate their discontent regarding the enquiry on the offence. The frowns were interpreted well on both sides using REF and REL as regards the case which made INF to be brought in. The discontent led the suspect to frown at the IPO and also pose a rhetorical question to the IPO as to how the security man could recognize the masked man. He then said the man is crazy. The IPO picked this up using INF, coupled with the fact that the IPO could sense lies in the suspect's statements via his VCE; this made him to give a frown and warn the suspect. Both parties (IPO and suspect) frowned to show their discontent.

6.4. Shout as a Discursive Strategy

Shouting implies raising one's voice so loudly in anger. IPOs also make use of this in their interaction with the suspects; it can be used to show anger and discontent as regards the matter at hand. Sometimes, this discursive strategy threatens the suspect and makes him/her uncomfortable. It is also of both activity and textual parts; performing the indirect speech and conversational acts. It employs VCE to showcase this with CO(N)TEXT. Shout, like other discursive strategies, can be used in any discourse issue and context in cross examinations and interrogations.

6.4.1. Shout as a Show of Anger

Anger is an intense negative emotion or feeling which, most times, is as a result of or a hostile response to an unwanted action or utterance. Sometimes, the investigating police officer shouts (un)consciously to show their anger when a suspect is obviously telling a lie. For instance:

6.4.1.1. Excerpt 6

Suspect: I gave her the money and tell her 'bye-bye'

IPO: you mean you gave her only the money? @@@

Suspect: yes

IPO: are you telling me it is only money that you give her? ((frowns))

Suspect: yes

IPO: yes! Abi? WILL YOU KEEP QUIET AND STOP LYING!!

In Excerpt 6, the capitalized words are the statement made in anger by the IPO when he became angry that the suspect is obviously telling a lie. The IPO used the VCE so that the suspect will be aware that he has inferred (INF) that he was lying. During interrogations, the IPO shouts at suspects to show anger when they decide to hide information, and this infuriates. The IPO is left with little or no choice than to shout at the suspect to scare him/her to refrain from telling a lie. He used the INF and VCE to perform the act of accusing the suspect.

6.4.2. Shout as an Indication of Discontent

During interrogations, the IPO can be angered and dissatisfied with the information the suspect is either supplying or withholding from him. This results to the IPO shouting at the suspect. This shows his discontent with the suspect for telling a lie.

6.4.2.1. Excerpt 7

IPO: after giving her the money, what did you do to her?

Suspect: I told her to go before her mother will start looking for her.

IPO: I SAID WHAT DID YOU DO TO HER? (shouts)

Suspect: I... [mute]

Excerpt 7, which is on the discourse issue of rape, showed the discontent of the IPO as he was dissatisfied with the varying answers that the suspect was giving him; thus he had to shout on the suspect. The IPO used REF to refer to the victim's ordeal and the REL was brought in as he asked the question again so that the suspect will provide relevant answer. He resorted to use VCE as he shouted on the suspect. INF was used by the suspect to know that the IPO was not satisfied with the answer he was giving, and knowing that the truth of the matter is being revealed, he started to stammer in the next conversation turn.

6.5. Question Styles

A question is a sentence, phrase or word used to ask for information. In police-suspect interrogation, different question styles manifest. All the question designs have a common goal, to elicit information from the suspect which will help the investigative process. Agada (2011:56) explains that at the information exchange stage, the interviewer is getting down to more details where he can ask more direct questions and seek clarifications. The officer may also ask a general question as to what the suspect knows about the crime in question. However, different question styles may be employed, such as the wh-questions, polar questions and declarative questions just as Holt and Johnson (2010) highlighted some of the different forms and purposes of questions. They may take the form of interrogatives, for example, what, where and why questions; they may involve a statement plus a tag question; or a declarative which functions as a question, sometimes with questioning intonation (i.e. a rise at the end) (this is a conversational (dialogue) act in the activity type of The Pragmatic Act Theory). Different question styles occur in all contexts and all discourse issues in order to elicit fact and truth.

6.5.1. Wh-Questions for Information Elicitation

Questions are very paramount in cross examination context. IPOs often make use of wh-questions which are non-polar question styles to elicit information from the suspects. Example:

6.5.1.1. Excerpt 8

IPO: where were you on the 10th of May?

Suspect: in my house

IPO: what were you doing?

Suspect: just relaxing, because, it is a Saturday.

In Excerpt 8, the wh-question style is obvious on the discourse issue of burglary and theft. Most times when the IPOs want to elicit information from suspects, the wh-questions are used as they suggest that the suspect can give ample description and explanation of the whole incident. In the excerpt above, the IPO used REF to ask the suspect questions as regarding place and what activity the suspect was carrying out on the specific date; the suspect used REL to accurately respond by supplying relevant information. The IPO used the prosody act as questions were asked with the rising tune. The textual part of CO (N)TEXT is evident as the wh-words 'where' and 'what' signal questions. The suspect used INF and answered accordingly. There is also the use of SSK as the suspect need not ask what year of the 10th of May.

6.5.2. Polar Questions for Precision

A polar question is a question which requires a yes or no as an answer. IPOs use polar questions in interrogations, especially when they need concise and precise answers. At the challenge stage according to Agada (2011:56), the interviewer may change from the open question style calling more for a yes or no answer rather than "can you tell me more about this" or the open-ended question strategy at the challenge stage. For instance:

6.5.2.1. Excerpt 9

Suspect: I gave her the money and tell her 'bye-bye'

IPO: you mean you gave her only the money? @@@

Suspect: yes

IPO: are you telling me it is only money that you give her? ((frowns))

Suspect: I said yes

In Excerpt 9, the IPO expected a straightforward answer, so he asked the polar question "are you telling me it is only money that you give her?" This polar question helps to get a precise response of 'yes' or 'no' from the suspect. Here, the IPO used REF when he refers to the rape victim as 'her' and there is the use of SSK wherein he does not need to mention who 'her' refers to; these the suspect also inferred. The use of REL comes to bear as the IPO ensured that the reference is relevant to the discourse at hand. The physiognomy act of the activity act too is cushioned to show the facial expression of the IPO.

6.5.3. Declarative Questions for Confirmation

There are some questions that neither have the wh-question element nor the polar question style. They appear as declarative sentences, but they are actually questions. An instance is provided in Excerpt 10.

6.5.3.1. Excerpt 10

IPO: that means you have been kidnapping before.

Suspect: no, this is my first time I commit this offence.

Excerpt 10 occurred in the discourse issue of kidnap where the suspect was accused of kidnapping his friend and killing him in the process. The IPO used TEXT of the declaration question to inquire about how long the suspect had been kidnapping people by asking the question "that means you have been kidnapping before" to which the suspect answered "no, this is my first time I commit this offence". The arrow ↑ indicates the rising tune used to signal questioning; the IPO here used prosody. The suspect recognized the intention of the IPO and used INF that he was accused of being a kidnapper even prior the current kidnap. He knew that the IPO was asking him a question rather than stating a claim that he had been a kidnapper; thus he responded in the negative.

6.6. Repetition as a Discursive Strategy

Repetition is the act of doing or saying the same thing many times. Repetition is often used for reinforcement of earlier questions asked so that the suspect will be aware and sure of the question asked to avoid misinformation. Aspects of both activity and textual parts in Pragmatic Act Theory are used here. It serves as a tool for confirmation in police-suspect interrogations and it can be used in all contexts and discourse issues as well, as exemplified in Excerpt 11.

6.6.1. Excerpt 11

Suspect: I gave her the money and tell her 'bye-bye'

IPO: you mean you gave her only the money?↑@@@

Suspect: yes

IPO: are you telling me it is only money that you give her? ((Frowns))

Suspect: I said yes

The declarative questions emboldened in Excerpt 11 imply that the IPO wants to be sure that the suspect heard and understood the question; hence, the need for repetition. The IPO was not asking a new question, but a formerly asked question, repetitively for confirmation purposes. This, the suspect discovered, and he also answered "I said yes" which presupposes that he knew that the question had been formerly asked and that he had provided the necessary answer. The co(n)text is evident here when the suspect used INF to understand REF in the conversation.

6.7. Code-Switching as a Discursive Strategy

Holmes Janet explains code-switching as moving from one code (language, dialect, or style) to another during speech for a number of reasons, including to signal solidarity, to reflect one's ethnic identity, to show off, to hide some information from a third party, to achieve better explanation of a certain concept, to converge or reduce social distance with the hearer, to diverge or increase social distance or to impress and persuade the audience (metaphorical code-switching). It is a conversational act of the activity part which employs metaphor (MPH) and voice in the textual part. In police-suspect interrogations, code-switching is evident as a means of reducing the social distance between the IPO and the suspect, to signal solidarity and ethnic identity as well as to achieve a better explanation of a certain concept. However, the two codes must be intelligible to both the IPO and the suspect, as evident in Excerpt 12.

6.7.1. Excerpt 12

IPO: Na so you just rape am? Abi? (that was just how you raped her, right?)

Suspect: uuhhhm

IPO: kare! Ekun. (well done, tiger) @@@

The word 'abi' is a Yoruba word meaning 'right' used when asking a question. In Excerpt 12, the use of the words "kare, ekun" (well done, tiger) by the IPO to the suspect considering his daringly bold act of raping a girl signals code-switching. The IPO used SSK as he switched to Nigerian Pidgin and Yoruba since they both understand both

languages; he employed MPH of the textual part to compare the suspect to a tiger. The REF relates with INF to produce REL in the discourse.

The suspect can also subscribe to code-switching to another language he/she thinks the IPO understands in order to show ethnic identity with the thought that perhaps the IPO would understand that more and be convinced of his/her innocence about a crime. For instance:

6.7.2. Excerpt 13

IPO: the company security man, Mr XXXX said that on 12/05/XXX at about 0130hrs, you and two others with guns forcefully gain entrance into the company premises. You particularly went to where the office key is being kept and you picked it and opened the door for your cohorts and carted away some office properties.

Suspect: [sweating, shaking and obviously afraid] (silence)

IPO: CAN YOU HEAR ME CLEARLY ↑(shouting)

Suspect: yes sir, hmmm. It is a lie sir. I don't know what to say. The only thing I know is that I'm with my family that night.

IPO: tell me the truth, or else...

Suspect: I don't know anything about this. Akobaleleyi o [still sweating profusely]

In Excerpt 13, by saying 'akobaleleyi o', the suspect used SSK to identify with the IPO as a Yoruba man who would understand him better by speaking the indigenous language to convince him of his innocence. Here, both participants used INF and REF. They inferred relevant information from each other's utterance(s) and made necessary references harnessing the shared situational knowledge between them.

7. Conclusion

From the foregoing, it is obvious that the police-suspect interaction is not just a verbal adventure, but also emotional and paralinguistic. This study set out to and has identified the discursive strategies used in the data gathered on police-suspect interaction, using the Oyo state CID, Iyaganku as the case study, explaining the communicative goals they were set to achieve during the investigative sessions. Through insights gained from Jacob Mey's Pragmatic Act Theory six discursive strategies: smile/grin, frowns, shout, question designs, repetition and code-switching were identified. The strategies were cushioned through the use of tools available in the activity and textual parts of the theory, especially the psychological and physiognomy acts (activity part) and CO(N)TEXT, REF, REL, INF, SSK, MPH, VCE and SCK (textual part). The study sees the police-suspect interrogation as a unique type of discourse as almost all the interactions tilt towards unraveling secrets to a particular crime. The study concludes that the diverse discursive strategies are characteristic of a police-suspect interrogation.

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